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ABSTRACT

In cross-cultural negotiation, the participants must have prior training in what is culturally and linguistically appropriate in order to avoid serious misunderstandings and impasses. While negotiation is a common form of business interaction, there are cultural and linguistic patterns that are not always shared. Analysis of American English negotiation found that it consisted of nine possible stages, four mandatory, and five underlying linguistic behaviors. The behaviors have a different impact depending on in which stage they occur. Materials designed for cross-cultural negotiation training must take the student through the stages and implicitly teach aspects of negotiation that lead to success, while not explicitly teaching negotiation structure or content. Discussion can include stereotypes, negotiation styles (aggressive vs. cooperative), and strategies and interactional techniques. Role-playing and simulation games are useful classroom tools for focusing on these factors, and worksheets for individual or cooperative use can be developed to accompany them. Videotaping and debriefing can also be illuminating. Negotiations can be optimally successful only when all participants are well-informed and understand each others' cultures and attitudes toward negotiations. (MSE)

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MAKING A PROFIT: NEGOTIATIONS TRAINING FOR NON-NATIVE
ENGLISH SPEAKERS

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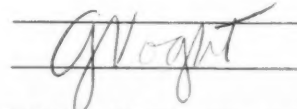
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**Making a Profit: Negotiations Training for
Non-native English Speakers**

For the Paris Peace Talks which ended the Vietnam War, the North Vietnamese came to Paris and signed a one year lease on an apartment. The Americans arrived and checked into one of Paris' finest hotels. While it is clear from their signing a one-year lease that the North Vietnamese expected the negotiations to be lengthy, it is equally clear that the Americans, by checking into an expensive hotel, expected the process to be concluded in a relatively short time. This lack of consensus on the time element of the negotiation process puts both parties at a disadvantage from the start.

Time is not the only element to be considered in a negotiation--in fact, it is usually one of the most easily agreed-upon elements in a negotiation, as most people and businesses, unlike governments, must work under strict time constraints. Agreeing on the length of a negotiation (often determined simply by how long one will be in the other's country) is, however, only one of many possible cultural and linguistic pitfalls in a cross-cultural negotiation.

Anecdotes exist in both linguistics literature (Aman 1982, Nilsen 1979) and negotiations literature (Graham 1981, Graham and Herberger 1983, Malinowski 1922) on how and why intercultural, interlingual negotiations fail. While these anecdotes are often amusing to read, it is unlikely that the

incidents they relate were amusing to the participants. Some businesses have found that translations of product names and/or advertising campaigns into the target language have resulted in unintentional vulgarities or negative associations (e.g., the "7-11" food store chain and "7-Up" might want to change their names in Ghana and Singapore where the number 7 has negative associations and in Israel where 7 stands for the seventh letter of the alphabet which has the added meaning of "penis" [Aman 1982]).

Unlike the planning of a marketing campaign abroad, however, which has the benefit of advance planning with experts on just such linguistic and cultural issues, negotiators are on the spot, without recourse to consultants to check what is linguistically and culturally appropriate. If they are not prepared prior to the negotiation, then it is unlikely that they will understand or be prepared for the difficulties and subtleties of cross-cultural negotiations. Certainly, in a business setting, cultural and/or linguistic misunderstandings can be more than awkward--they can be dangerous both to the negotiator as an individual, and as a representative of his/her company. Negotiation break-downs, for whatever reasons, have the potential to cause the individual negotiator the loss of a job, and to cause the company the loss of a potentially beneficial relationship¹ involving substantial profits.

Thus, while negotiations are a common form of business interaction, there are clearly cultural and linguistic patterns which are not always shared. Violations of these

patterns (i.e., expectations) may be one major cause of negotiation breakdowns. To understand how negotiation processes differ, it is essential to first understand the process in our own culture and language.

In this paper, then, American English negotiations will first be defined, then described according to their structure and content, and following this, to help eliminate the linguistic and cultural component of potential misunderstandings, materials and methods for training non-native English speaking negotiators will be discussed.

A. DEFINITION

Because negotiation is such a widely used term, for the purposes of this research I have used the definition from Graham, "a face-to-face decision-making process between parties concerning a specific product" (1980:14). The distinguishing features of a negotiation are:

1. that there are a minimum of 2 parties present.
2. that both parties have predetermined goals.
3. that some of the predetermined goals are not shared by both participants.
4. that there is an outcome.
5. that both parties believe the outcome of the negotiation may be satisfactory.
6. that both parties are willing to modify their position.
7. that the parties' incompatible positions make modification of position difficult.
8. that parties understand the purpose of negotiation. (Neu 1985:38)

Should any of these features not be present, then the interaction is other than a negotiation. The first feature is a requisite in any face-to-face interaction; the second and third features are what motivate the parties to set up a

negotiation. The fourth and fifth features, dealing with negotiation outcome, state that whether the resolution of the process is satisfactory or not, there will be an outcome, and that parties believe that this outcome may be satisfactory. Next, there must be give-and-take in negotiation, the sixth feature, and seventh, this give-and-take must be difficult. Finally, negotiating parties must share the same sociocultural knowledge of the process of negotiation and of conversation conventions (Hansell and Ajirotutu 1982). All parties must be competent; i.e., they must understand the goals of the interaction they are participating in. In cross-cultural negotiations, while parties may understand the process differently (Graham 1980), all share an understanding of the goals of the event.

B. DATA

To understand the difficulties in cross-cultural negotiations (where American English will be one of the languages) it was first necessary to understand American English negotiations. To this end, a study of 30 simulated² negotiation games was undertaken. The negotiation game used was developed by Kelley in the 1960's (in Graham 1980) and involves the sale and purchase of three commodities. Communications between buyer and seller were unrestricted, allowing natural, unscripted language. All negotiations were audiotaped with the full knowledge and agreement of the subjects.

All of the 60 subjects in the study were 25 years old or older, with a minimum of 2 years full-time work experience. Eighty-two percent were MBA students at the University of Southern California or the University of California at Irvine. The remaining 18% were 30-60 year-old professionals. All subjects were native speakers of American English.

Following data collection, the 30 negotiations were transcribed using the Jefferson transcription system (as cited in Schenkein 1978). They were then coded for their linguistic structure and content. Nine structural variables (repair, pause, overlap, interruption, etc.) and sixteen content variables were coded (recommendations, promises, warnings, threats, etc.). Two dependent variables were used to measure the effects of linguistic behaviors on negotiation outcomes--the profit margin achieved by the parties, and the degree of satisfaction attained (as determined by post-game questionnaires). These two dependent variables are quantitative (profit) and qualitative (satisfaction) measures of outcome.

Using multivariate procedures, the data was analyzed and a model of the structure and content of American English negotiations was posited.

C. STRUCTURE

Marketing researchers claim that negotiations are a 4-stage process (cf., Bourne, Dominowski, and Loftus 1979; Dalrymple and Parsons 1976; Engel, Kollat, and Blackwell

1973; Graham 1979; Sawyer and Guetzkow 1965; and Weitz 1978 in Graham 1980) and although each researcher invented different names for these stages, these four stages essentially serve as Opening, Exchange of Information, Change of Position, and Closing.

These researchers were not, however, analyzing the language of negotiation. By looking at the language, nine stages (i.e., episodes) were discovered and found to be reliable divisions of the data (as measured through ANOVA). These nine stages are:

1. OPENING
2. EXCHANGE
3. 1ST PRICE
4. PLANNING
5. DISCUSSION OF PRODUCTS
6. BARGAIN
7. PRICES
8. PRECLOSE
9. CLOSE

All nine stages are not required to be present in a negotiation, however. Nor were the stages found to occur only once in each negotiation; many stages may be recursive. There were six stages, nonetheless, which occurred in all thirty negotiations and which have been tentatively labeled the "distinctive episodes" of American English negotiations. These six distinctive episodes occur in the following order in negotiations:



This linguistic analysis of the distinctive episodes of negotiation supports the four stage model posited by marketing researchers, thus providing strong evidence for the reality of this model (cf., Principle of Convergence, Labov 1972). Interestingly, however, while all negotiations contained these episodes, none contained only these. It can be assumed, therefore, that while this model is a reliable one, it may not fully reveal the richness of the negotiation process.

The "skeletal" nature of the model is reinforced through the results of a correlation between episode type and the dependent variables, profit and satisfaction outcomes. What emerged was that of the nine episodes, four played a significant role in determining negotiation outcomes: and 3 of the four are non-obligatory episodes (Discuss, Planning, and Preclose--the fourth, obligatory episode is Bargain). Thus, it is clear that while American English negotiations consist of a four stage process, this framework does not tell the whole story.

D. CONTENT

Whereas the structure of negotiations allows an understanding of what constitutes the process of negotiation, more information can be gathered by looking at what goes on within this process. A factor analysis was conducted on the final, reduced set of structure and content variables (N=22) to determine the underlying linguistic behaviors in negotiations. Five factors, i.e., underlying

behaviors, emerged and have been interpreted³ as Information, Interaction, Metatalk, Concession, and Agreement.

These factors have been so named because of the variables which make them up. Interestingly, all but one of the factors contain a mix of both structure and content variables, indicating that certain functions (content) in negotiation are systematically accomplished by certain ways of speaking (structure).

The first factor, Information, contains the content variables self-disclosure (giving information about oneself), and exclusive "we" ("we" used to mean speaker and someone other than negotiating opponent) and the structure variables self-repairs and filled pauses. Filled pauses hold the floor for speakers when they experience difficulties (as seen by the presence of self-repairs) in encoding a message. As such, this factor might be labeled "Floor maintenance." This would not adequately explain, however, a crucial aspect of negotiation occurring here--that of revealing information about oneself and about the organization one represents. Because this information is accomplished only with filled pauses and self-repairs, revealing such information appears to be difficult, causing speech dysfluencies.

The second factor, Interaction contains the content variable request for information and the structure variables soft (soft voice volume), acknowledgement (giving feedback), and echo (repeating a part, or all, of the previous

speaker's utterance). These three variables all work together to help the current speaker relinquish the floor to another speaker, either through passive acquiescence (feedback and soft volume), or through active involvement (requesting information). Thus, this factor promotes interaction.

Metatalk, the third factor, is unique in that it contains only content variables. The three variables, recommendation (making a suggestion/recommendation), shield ("I don't know," "maybe," "I think," etc.) and inclusive "we" ("we" used to mean the speaker and the other negotiator(s) present) function together to reflect a concern with the ongoing process, a kind of "Why don't we maybe first talk about typewriters?" type of suggestion. As such, this factor represents a procedural type of discourse.

The fourth factor has been called Concession as it has the content variable concession (conceding to the opponent) with the structure variables slow (slow speech rate) and loud (loud voice volume). This shows that making concessions is accompanied by prosodic features which may indicate deliberation and intentionality, i.e., a concession is not made in error, although it may well be made against one's will or better judgement. Additionally, these prosodic features, by setting concessions apart from the flow of normal discourse, serve to call attention to them.

The final factor, Agreement, contains the content variables commitment (agreement to do something) and

positive response (acknowledging the other speaker's utterance with a positive, or agreeing response) and the structure variable overlap (a segment of talk which overlaps with another speaker's talk). This factor appears to indicate a willingness, even an eagerness (as seen in overlap), to commit.

These five factors are the underlying constructs of negotiation. Whereas the first two, Information and Interaction, may be common to most, if not all, communicative settings (cf., Biber 1984, Grabe 1984), the last three seem to be particular to oral discourse, and, more specifically, to negotiations.

E. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

American English negotiations have been found to consist of nine episodes, four of which are mandatory. The process of negotiation, in fact, does not appear to be a linear one, but a cyclical one, with various stages recycling. This results in negotiations which do not ever seem to contain just the four mandatory stages and no others.

Additionally, there are five underlying linguistic behaviors which characterize American English negotiations. These behaviors demonstrate that negotiations consist of giving information, promoting interaction, discussing procedural matters, conceding, and agreeing.

To understand the impact of these behaviors in the nine stage negotiation model, a correlation was conducted on the

nine episodes and negotiation outcomes. What was discovered was that behaviors had a different impact on the outcomes depending on where (i.e., in which episode) they occurred.

Thus, Information given in Discuss or Preclose stages contributes negatively to both the profit and the satisfaction of the participants. This may indicate that Information should neither be given too early nor too late in the process.

Interaction during Bargain contributes positively to the profit, positively to the difference in satisfaction achieved by the buyer and seller, but negatively to the sum of both parties' satisfaction. This demonstrates that while eliciting interaction may contribute to a higher outcome, perhaps the party eliciting the interaction may feel cheated of his/her turn at achieving an equitable solution.

Concessions given during the Discuss stage contribute negatively to the profit levels attained. Like Information, it may be that negotiators who concede during this stage are doing so too early and therefore, risk their profit outcome.

Finally, Agreement in the Discuss and Planning stages correlates with the profit, but negatively correlates with the sum of satisfaction of both participants. This would indicate that while agreements may be desirable early on in the process for achieving profits, being too agreeable in these stages leads to greater dissatisfaction.

Metatalk, the factor concerning procedural discourse, does not appear to have any significant impact on profit or

satisfaction levels attained in negotiations.

Similarly, as pointed out in section C on structure, of the nine episodes found in negotiation, only four contribute to the outcomes, and of these four, three are non-obligatory episodes. This again reinforces the idea that the four-stage model of negotiation is indeed a bare one, revealing very little about what is contained within the process of American English negotiations.

F. PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS

Given a better understanding of the structure and content of American English negotiations, it is now feasible to talk about materials and methods which will more accurately meet the needs of non-native negotiators in English. First, the types of materials which present and familiarize negotiators with American English negotiation patterns will be discussed. Then, methods which enable the negotiators to use these materials to the best advantage will be explored.

G. MATERIALS

Materials to promote understanding and proficiency in cross-cultural negotiations must take the student from an information-receiving stage to the stage of active involvement in negotiations. While it is not necessary to explicitly teach the structure and content of American English negotiations, it is important that materials implicitly teach those aspects which impact on a successful cross-cultural negotiation.

Before active involvement in cross-cultural negotiations is possible, it is necessary to bring to the surface students' understanding of the process and goals of negotiations in their own languages/cultures.

A way of beginning this discussion can be either by distributing a list of stereotypes about attitudes towards money and business in different cultures; e.g., the Swiss are thrifty, the Japanese won't say "no," Americans are all business, Mexicans never get things done on time, etc., or by having the students collaborate in developing such a list. When students have critically analyzed their lists of stereotypes, it is time to have the students reformulate these attitudes with regard to negotiations. How does a Japanese negotiator, for example, who supposedly won't say "no," refuse or decline an offer in a negotiation? How would a Mexican negotiator make a favorable impression on an American negotiator? These exercises serve to bring to light both the falsity of such stereotypes (e.g., Japanese do say "no," but perhaps in ways opaque to non-Japanese) and how such awareness can be used to advantage in negotiations.

Next, before proceeding with the negotiation role-plays, students can be familiarized with two possible negotiation styles--the "My Way" or "Your Way" styles. The first is the more aggressive style while the second is the more balanced, more cooperative approach. Elements of both styles are useful and were shown to have an impact on negotiation outcomes (see Summary of Findings section above).

Using the four obligatory stages of negotiations as a framework, some of the strategies which characterize these two styles are:

TABLE 2:

TWO STYLES OF NEGOTIATING: MY WAY AND YOUR WAY.

	<u>My Way</u>	<u>Your Way</u>
OPENING/EXCHANGE	-Establishing roles -Proposing ideas -Giving point of view	-Greetings -Obtaining information -Sharing ideas -Disclosing personal info.
1ST PRICE	-Stating demands -Using authority to state demands	-Asking requirements
BARGAIN/PRICES	-Disagreeing w/opponent -Disparaging opponent's opinion -Offering incentives for opponent to modify position	-Supporting opponent's views -Active listening -Finding similarities -Giving positive feedback
CLOSE	-Commenting on profitability to self	-Determining fairness of outcome -Evaluating future relationship

It is clear that the "My Way" style is the more aggressive form of interacting, while the "Your Way" style is more concerned with a mutually satisfactory process.

These two styles may be further broken down in terms of the interactional techniques used to implement them:

TABLE 3:

UNDERLYING FACTORS OF THE TWO NEGOTIATING STYLES

<u>My Way</u>	<u>Your Way</u>
INFORMATION self-disclosure exclusive "we" substantive self- repair nonsubstantive self- repair filled pause	INTERACTION request for informa- tion soft tone of voice acknowledgement echo
METATALK recommendation shield inclusive "we"	METATALK
	CONCESSION concession slow rate of speech loud tone of voice
AGREEMENT commitment overlap positive response	AGREEMENT

These strategies and interactional techniques for the four stages of negotiations are not only linguistic but behavioral and as such, not teachable in the same way as grammar, vocabulary, etc.

Thus, rather than attempt to have the students learn all the strategies and techniques, the goal in devising classroom materials is to ensure that students are aware of and can identify these various strategies and techniques. They are then free to choose which strategies they will use in negotiations.

Because participants in negotiations tend to invest a great deal of ego in the process, it is often impossible for them to remember details of what they did during the process. For this reason, and for the benefit of the class as a whole, videotaping is recommended and encouraged. Each student should have the opportunity of being taped at least once.

The unit which follows is typical of the materials used in a course I taught at Harvard University (summer 1982). This negotiation is a multi-party one which involved the entire class. It was the final negotiation of the 4-week course. Prior to this, the students had negotiated only in pairs and in small groups. The issues negotiated ranged from a personnel director's displeasure with a department manager over the latter's refusal to accept older employees in the department, to a small town negotiating with a power plant to stop dumping waste in the local river. In all the

negotiations, however, students completed similar worksheets and questionnaires.

The first part is a "background information sheet."

This gives the students a description of the situation and a list of the people involved.

Background Information Sheet

NUCLEAR ENERGY FOR TOGO?

Geography

Togo is a small, rectangularly-shaped country in West Africa. Lome is the capital, located on the Atlantic coast, in the southern part of the country. There are approximately 2 million inhabitants. Togo is bordered to the west by Ghana, to the east by Benin, and to the north by Upper Volta. To the south, a narrow strip of land (less than 30 miles wide) borders the Atlantic ocean.

The northern area of Togo lies along the edge of the Sahelian zone, a dry area that stretches across the entire continent. The southern part of Togo is close to the equator and more tropical in climate.

Like all West African countries, Togo has two seasons: the rainy season and the dry season.

History

A United Nations trust territory, "Togoland" was divided between the British and the French. When neighboring Ghana gained its independence, the British "Togoland" became a part of Ghana. French "Togoland" gained its independence in 1960 and became known as Togo.

National boundaries throughout West Africa are arbitrary: people of the same ethnic group may be found in different countries. This has not helped centuries-old tribal rivalries.

Economy

Largely agricultural, Togo produces mainly coffee. There is no major industry in Togo, perhaps a factor of the paucity of natural resources. Because of a seriously diminished rainfall, Togo has become more and more reliant on help from France.

Education

Although French is the official language of the country, few people speak it outside of government officials. Most people remain illiterate due to the fact that the ethnic group languages are not as yet written.

Few people can afford the luxury of advanced educations as they are needed as wage earners for the family.

Government

Togo is a socialist republic. Since independence, Togo has remained stable.

Situation to be negotiated:

France and the United States are each interested in providing Togo with a nuclear power plant. Nuclear power would guarantee Togo the power needed to develop its potentially rich agricultural industry.

Togolese point of view

Togolese officials, conscious of the people's dislike for the French, and aware of their current indebtedness to them, are not certain that they want to incur both the people's wrath and more indebtedness. There is also the concern that the French do not share the same environmental concerns regarding a nuclear power plant as the Americans do. On the positive side, the French and the Togolese have had longstanding relations with each other and thus know how to do business together. They also share the same official language.

While the Togolese are uncertain about allowing the French to build the plant, they are equally uncertain about the Americans. Large-scale American influence in West Africa does not exist. The Togolese are familiar with the American's reputation for being technologically superior to the French, and as a small country, they appreciate the American's concern for building an environmentally safe plant. A major fear, however, is that they feel that this business interest might lead to unwanted political meddling.

The French point of view

From an economic standpoint, the French would like to see Francophone West Africa become more energy independent in order to be able to reduce foreign aid. Togo, as a small, largely illiterate nation with a stable political system, is the perfect place for a nuclear power plant. This plant could provide all of Francophone West Africa with energy, with a minimum of negative reaction on the part of the people.

Thus, the French government, as a partial owner of the the "Societe pour l'energie nucleaire" (SOEN) would encourage them to do business in Togo.

The American point of view

The U.S. has never had much influence in West Africa: it has few, if any, investments in the region, no military, no noticeable amount of aid. In the past decade, West Africa has suffered from a drought which has destroyed livestock and land. While China and Russia both took the opportunity to send in large

contingents of advisors and aid, the U.S. did not. The U.S. is now becoming concerned about the Chinese and Russian influence in West Africa. Building a nuclear power plant would give it a reason to send in highly trained specialists to investigate the situation over an extended time period.

The nuclear power plant company, "Nuclear Technologies, Inc." (Nuktech), is interested in expanding overseas. Although a leader in the field of nuclear power plants, Nuktech believes that given the climate of Togo and the lack of strict American government controls, it can design a "next" generation plant for Togo which will be superior to all existing plants in both output and safety.

Statement of the problem

At a meeting with French and American government and industry representatives, Togolese officials must decide first whether or not they want either to build a nuclear power plant. Then, if they decide to go ahead with it, they must collect as much information as they need to determine which company can better meet their needs.

A list of the negotiators

Representing Togo:	Minister of Public Works Minister of Foreign Affairs Professor of Engineering, U. of Lome
Representing France:	Minister of Energy President of "SOEN" Ambassador to Togo
Representing the U.S.:	Undersecretary of State President of "Nuktech" West African Affairs Advisor to the President

The next step, once the students have read the background information, is to prepare the following worksheets.

Pre-Game Worksheets

Individual worksheet (can be done at home)

Role selected: _____

Position taken towards construction of plant: Pro___ Con___

Extract as many facts as you can from the background information sheet which support this point of view.

List examples which give further evidence for your position.

Give possible counterarguments for each of the above examples.

Class Worksheet (to be done in consultation with others)

Which people in the class agree with your position?

What are their roles?

Together, what arguments can you devise to support your position?

Now that you have thought through some of the possible arguments and counterarguments for your position, list the conditions under which you would agree to modify your position. The following is an example of the format your modification of position might take.

If _____, then _____.

Final individual pre-game worksheet

Which strategies and techniques will you attempt to use to support your position? List them and explain why you've chosen them.

Nonverbal: Where would you want to sit in relation to the other negotiators?

What body posture(s) would you like to have?

How would you like to use your hands while listening? While speaking?

What can you do, when you are speaking, to get someone else to take the floor?

What can you do, when you're listening, to indicate that you want to take the floor?

What nonverbal behaviors on the part of a listener can indicate:

- a lack of understanding
- agreement
- disagreement
- confusion
- boredom
- interest

The purpose of all of these worksheets is to have the students thinking not only about the role and the position that they want to take in the interaction, but also about the strategies and techniques available to them.

Following the actual negotiation, the students complete a post-game questionnaire.

Post-Game Questionnaire

Your role: _____

Outcome reached: _____

1. How satisfied were you with the process of negotiating?
Very Somewhat Not at all
2. How satisfied were you with the outcome?
Very Somewhat Not at all
3. How satisfied were you with your performance?
Very Somewhat Not at all
4. How well do you think your opponent(s) performed?
Very Somewhat Not at all
5. What style do you think dominated your performance?
My Way Your Way
6. What style do you think dominated your opponent's performance?
My Way Your Way
7. List the strategies and techniques which you think you used.
8. List the strategies and techniques that you think you used to your benefit.
9. List those strategies and techniques which you feel were detrimental to your position.
10. What were your initial objectives?
11. How closely did the final outcome match your original objectives?
Very Somewhat Not at all
12. If you could do this again, what would you change?

The post-game worksheets can be analyzed together with a playing of the videotape. A debriefing on strategies and techniques used by the participants in the videotaped negotiation can be moderated, each time, by a different student.

Student participation in not only the role-play negotiations but the process of debriefing as well is part of the methodology which can be used in teaching cross-cultural negotiations.

H. METHODS

Drawing on and modifying Curran's Community Language Learning and Gategno's Silent Way (in Stevick 1976), I believe that the teacher is in the classroom as a facilitator for the students. In this case, where the students in the class are adults who will be negotiating for themselves or as representatives of their companies, they are already familiar with their needs and roles outside the class. The role of the teacher should be as passive as possible, permitting maximum involvement by the students in all phases of the class. Therefore, the teacher must act as a tool to imparting the information that they need and in eliciting from them the assumptions, knowledge, and training in negotiations that they already possess.

Eliciting information and assumptions begins with the first exercise on stereotypes and continues through the worksheets on the individual negotiation role-plays. Having the students to work alone and in groups permits them to

collaborate where necessary--using each other as resources rather than using the teacher. Other resources, such as the library, experts in the field, annual reports, etc., can also be drawn in. The goal here is to achieve as realistic an environment as possible, where students are not limited by only having access to information imparted by a classmate or the teacher.

Once ready to begin negotiations, the students should have control over everything from the physical set-up (from placement of chairs, tables, video camera, etc.) to the content and amount of time spent negotiating. Obviously, since most classes are constrained by time and space allotments, students will not have complete freedom. However, this is parallel to real-life negotiations where time and space constraints also exist.

As mentioned previously, the videotaping of the role-play negotiation serves to capture the gestures and speech of the participants for replay later. A non-participating student can do the videotaping in the absence of a professional cameraperson. When the negotiation is completed, students have the advantage of playing back what happened and seeing whether they are satisfied with what they and their partners did. They may also see that what they intended to do with verbal or nonverbal strategies was correctly interpreted, misinterpreted, or not successfully carried out at all.

Debriefing each other and themselves through the use of videotape may be the most illuminating component of all. Again, if the teacher remains as passive as possible, it is likely that someone in the class will be able to point out critical behaviors (lack of eye contact, interruptions, inappropriate body position, etc.) which affected the negotiation. In an active class, the teacher may have only one or two points to add to the general discussion, participating much as one of the group.

Allowing the students to take the lead promotes an atmosphere in which mistakes, misunderstandings, and violations of cultural negotiating patterns are not censured, but merely pointed out and noted by their peers. Peer correction is a more effective teaching device than teacher correction, and less threatening.

Thus, the goal in both the materials and the methods is to permit the students to act as much as possible as they would in everyday negotiating situations where they are responsible to themselves, their colleagues, and their superior (in the classroom, their peers and the teacher). The materials provide the gears, the methods the oil to grease them.

I. CONCLUSION

While negotiating seminars and workshops abound, like popular best-selling "how-to" books, it is important to separate the legitimate from the illegitimate. While some commercial and extremely profitable workshops offer good

insights, few, if any, are geared to dealing with the cross-cultural negotiation.

In fact, as discussed in the section on the structure of negotiations, it was found that contrary to research and expectation, American-English negotiations are more complex than previously assumed. They are not as direct as might be expected--they not only rarely consist of just the four basic stages, but they are also cyclical--that is, negotiators do not seem to get everything done in as efficient a manner as might be possible, and certain stages are repeated. Thus, even within a culture, negotiations are a complex process which require more depth and understanding than a best-selling book or 4-hour seminar can offer.

Imagine then the confusion and frustration of many Americans negotiating abroad who believe that being honest and straightforward will win the day, that honesty and directness will convince the other that you're a "good guy" and therefore that all cultural differences can be smoothed over by a smile and by being direct (Graham and Herberger 1983).

Cultural differences are not so easily smoothed over--honesty may be a good policy, but certainly, understanding and being informed about other cultures is a better policy, and one that will ensure greater success and satisfaction in cross-cultural negotiations.

The materials and methods outlined in this paper are merely a beginning--one based on a comprehensive study of

the linguistic structure and content of American English negotiations. By understanding the structure and content of American-English negotiations, non-native speakers will have a better grasp on what we view as appropriate negotiation behaviors. Certainly, this is only half the battle. To be more effective negotiators, Americans now need to turn the tables and continue in the tradition so well innovated by Graham (1981, 1985a, 1985b). Negotiations can be optimally successful only when all participants are well-informed and understanding of each others' cultures and attitudes towards negotiations.

NOTES

1. See Rubin and Brown 1975 on incentives and reward structure. Also, as discussed later in this paper, one of the conditions required for negotiations to take place is that each of the parties has something of value to gain from entering into the process (Neu 1985).
2. The study used in this paper is more fully explained in Neu 1985.
3. The interpretation and labeling of factors is difficult, at best. As Gorsuch notes:
Once a factor has been named, there is a tendency to reify it. It is assumed that the name is completely accurate and that the factor 'explains' the variables. However, a factor is only one operational representative of the construct implicit in the factor's label--and it might not be the best one" (1983:212).

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